

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 NIC-01 SAJ-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-04 /071 W

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R 120911Z NOV 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5946

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 14734

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR

SUBJECT: SOVIET AMBASSADOR REITERATES HARD LINE ON NORTHERN TERRITORIES

SUMMARY: SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN TOKYO REITERATES SOVIET HARD LINE ON NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE, CHIDING JAPANESE FOR WILLINGNESS TO OVERLOOK TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHINESE.

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED WITH AMAE, FIRST EAST EUROPE DIVISION, RECENT PRESS REPORTS OF PRESS BACKGROUNDER AT SOVIET EMBASSY NOVEMBER 5 IN WHICH SOVIETS REITERATED RIGID STAND REGARDING NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE. (WE HAVE IDENTIFIED SOVIET DIPLOMAT AS AMB TROYANOVSKY.) IN PRESS SOVIET EMBASSY OFFICIAL QUOTED AS SAYING USSR REJECTS REVISION OF WW II BOUNDARIES AS MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND THAT SOVIETS DO NOT PLAN TO CONCEDE ON TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN PEACE TREATY TALKS.

2. DESPITE PESSIMISTIC CAST TO PRESS STORIES, AMAE SAID IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE SOVIETS HAVE NOT GONE BACK ON OCTOBER 1973 BREZHNEV-TANAKA COMMUNIQUE AGREEMENT THAT BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED DISCUSSION OF TERRITORIAL ISSUE WILL BE INCLUDED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

AMAE SAID SOVIETS CAN OF COURSE BE EXPECTED TO TAKE STRONG STAND BEFORE ENTERING NEGOTIATIONS. TO CONTINUE MOMENTUM OF TANAKA-BREZHNEV COMMUNIQUE, FONMIN KIMURA TENTATIVELY PLANS TO GO TO USSR EARLY NEXT YEAR.

3. DURING BACKGROUNDER, FOR FIRST TIME OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE, SOVIETS INJECTED UPCOMING JAPAN-CHINA PEACE TREATY TALKS. WITHOUT DIRECTLY REFERRING TO RECENT TENG HSIAO-PING REMARKS TO JAPANESE THAT CHINA WOULD BE WILLING TO SIDESTEP SENKAKU CONTROVERSY IN ORDER TO PROCEED RAPIDLY WITH PEACE TREATY, TROYANOVSKY SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WAS AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO SIDESTEPPING DIFFICULT ISSUES IN JAPAN-CHINA PEACE TALKS, DIFFICULT ISSUES ARE RAISED AS PRE-CONDITIONS IN JAPAN-SOVIET PEACE TALKS.

4. ANOTHER, MORE EXIREKIT, VERSION OF TROYANOVSKY BACKGROUNDER WAS PROVIDED US BY YOMIURI REPORTED HIRANO WHO WAS PRESENT. ACCORDING TO HIRANO, TROYANOVSKY SAID, "WHILE JAPAN WAS WILLING TO SET ASIDE TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN NEGOTIATING WITH CHINA, JAPAN IS NOT WILLING TO PUT ASIDE TERRITORIAL ISSUE IN DEALING WITH USSR. WE (SOVIETS) MUST TAKE JAPAN'S INCONSISTENT ATTITUDE INTO CONSIDERATION WHEN DEALING WITH JAPAN."

5. WHEN EMBOFF NOTED MINOR POST-WAR TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS MADE BY USSR IN EUROPE, AMAE SAID GOJ WILL NEITHER AGREE TO "FINLANDIZATION" NOR AGREE EVEN IN PRINCIPLE TO SOVIET'S ASIAN SECURITY PLAN, LIKE IRAN, AS POLITICAL PRICE FOR RETURNING NORTHERN TERRITORIES.

6. COMMENT: RECENT SOVIET REITERATION OF HARSH NORTHERN TERRITORIES STANCE LIKE UNWILLINGNESS TO SEND TOP LEADERS TO TOKYO SUMMIT ACCENTUATES AGAIN COOL STATE OF SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS. A MAJOR FACTOR IN SOVIET COOLNESS MAY BE THEIR DISSATISFACTION WITH PACE OF CONCLUDING SIBERIAN DEVELOPMENTS PROJECTS WITH JAPANESE AND PARTICULARLY DISPLEASURE OVER JAPANESE RELUCTANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN TYUMEN. TROYANOVSKY CHIDES JAPANESE ABOUT VIOLATION OF EQUI-DISTANT POSTURE VIS-AVIS CHINA AND SOVIETS, BUT SLIDES OVER REAL DISTINCTION THAT JAPAN HAS ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROL OF UNINHABITED SENKAKUS WHILE SOVIETS HOLD CONTROL OF ISLANDS SETTLED BY JAPANESE IN EARLY MEIJI ERA.  
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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PFOR, JA, UR, (AMAE)  
**To:** STATE  
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